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S P E E C H E S

OF

SAM^{my} HOUSTON, OF TEXAS,

ON THE SUBJECT OF

AN INCREASE OF THE ARMY,

AND

THE INDIAN POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT,

DELIVERED IN THE

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES, JANUARY 29 AND 31, 1855.

WASHINGTON:

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1855

INDIAN POLICY, &c.

JANUARY 29, 1855.

The Senate resumed, as in Committee of the Whole, the consideration of the bill from the House of Representatives, making appropriations for the support of the Army for the year ending the 30th of June, 1856, the pending question being on the amendment of Mr. SHIELDS to the amendment of Mr. HUSTER, (which is to provide for two additional Regiments of Regular Cavalry and five hundred Rangers,) to substitute for that provision two Regiments of Infantry, and two of Cavalry.

Mr. HOUSTON said:

Mr. PRESIDENT. Before the Senate proceed to vote upon the adoption of the policy now proposed, I think it would be well to examine the causes which have led to the present condition of affairs, and then to inquire into the best means for the restoration of peace upon our Indian frontier. An examination of this sort will inform us whether there is any necessity for an increase of the military force of the country.

I am aware, sir, that, in discussing subjects which relate to the Indians, or to their rights, I shall command but little sympathy from the Senate, and not much from the country. They are a people isolated in their interest, and solely dependent for protection and justice upon the Government of the United States. How far justice has been accorded to them in the past, or how far it is, in all probability, to be awarded to them in the future, is a matter beyond speculation. If we are to judge from the past experience of our times, we should infer that there is but very little hope of anything being done for the red man; and we should infer that, in the opinion of his white brethren, his doom has already been written and recorded.

Mr. President, the Indians have been charged with an aggressive and hostile spirit towards the whites; but we find, upon inquiry, that every instance of that sort which has been imputed to them, has been induced and provoked by the white man, either by acts of direct aggression upon the Indians, or by his own incaution, alluring them to a violation of the security of the whites. They have tempted the cupidity of the Indians. If a

lawless fellow happens to prove vagrant to his band, and throws off all the rules and restrictions imposed by the chiefs on their warriors, and chooses to involve his nation in a difficulty by taking the life of a white man, if he can do so, as he supposes, with impunity, his action is charged to his tribe; but they should not be held responsible. Sir, we have seen thrilling accounts of sanguinary massacres, which alarm us at the first blush; and if we are to believe the paragraphs disseminated through the medium of the press, we should suppose, in reality, that the Indian was as barbarous as he had ever been, and that all the assaults or massacres, as they are termed, are unprovoked and wantonly inflicted on the defenseless white man. As an instance of this, let me mention the massacre at Fort Laramie, and from that instance you can pretty accurately deduce the true condition of other acts of a similar character. What were the circumstances in connection with that case?

During the last summer, some bands of the Sioux nation of Indians were encamped within six miles of Fort Laramie. They were in amity with the United States, and on terms of friendship and good feeling with the officers and men of the neighboring fort. A man from a neighboring tribe, whose relatives had, a year before, been slaughtered by the troops at Fort Laramie, happened to be among these bands of Sioux. Some Mormon emigrants passed by the camp of the Indians, and a cow escaped from them, made towards the village, and the Mormons pursued her, but unsuccessfully. The Indian to whom I have referred, by way of revenge for the loss of his relative, slaughtered the animal. Complaint was made at Fort Laramie. The chiefs instantly said that they would see that reparation was made for the injury which had been done. Was this satisfactory to the commanding officer? No, sir; but he detailed a brevet lieutenant, with a company, for the purpose of arresting the Indian. The company arrived at the encampment of the Indians with two pieces of artillery. Demand was made of the chiefs, but this Indian said to

them, "I have taken a lodge here; I am willing to die; you have nothing to do with this matter; you have no concern with it; the responsibility is not upon your people, but it is upon me alone." So soon as this reply was given to the lieutenant, he fired and crippled one of the principal chiefs, and killed a man. The delinquent still refused to give up. After that, the chiefs rallied and exhorted the men to commit no outrage; their influence controlled the action of the Indians; but a drunken interpreter, who was calculated to incite the lieutenant to action, caused him, no doubt, to fire his cannon. The next thing was that the war-whoop was sounded, and the lieutenant and part of his men were killed. The others dispersed, were pursued by the Indians in hot blood, and every man was slaughtered.

This is a succinct narrative of that event. Were the Indians to blame? He who violates a law is the man who is responsible for the consequences of that violation. The Indian intercourse laws of the United States, have pointed out the manner in which to proceed in such a case. If a citizen sustains injury from any tribe, or from an individual of a tribe, information is to be given to the Indian agent for that tribe. He is immediately to make a demand upon the chiefs of the nation. If they do not surrender the individual, which, in all probability they would do immediately, if they were treated in good faith, deduction is made from their annuities for the amount of the injury, and there the matter stops. If no annuities are due to them, rather than bring on war, the United States Treasury is responsible to the individual who has sustained loss. These are the provisions of the intercourse laws. In this case, did either of the officers make a demand on the chiefs? The chiefs sent an assurance that justice would be done, and the individual given up, though he did not belong to their band. The officers, unwilling to receive that assurance, dispatched a handful of men against several lodges of Indians, and among whom there had been some ground of complaint. The consequences which I have narrated, resulted from this indiscretion and violation of law. It was a violation of law, for no demand was made upon the chiefs for indemnity, and no response was received from them. These gallant gentlemen thought they should go there and make war. They are paid for it; "it is their vocation." Are such men entitled to sympathy? Are they entitled to respect? But their conduct alarmed the Sioux; and because that tribe proposed to confederate with other tribes, we are asked to increase the military force of the country; forsooth, we are to wage war upon the winds, for you might as well do it, as upon the prairie Indians.

But this is not all that grew out of that transaction. A clamor is raised about the mail party who were destroyed subsequently to that. It was very natural to expect that it would be done. The Sioux chief, who was wounded on the occasion to which I have referred, was taken to the Arkansas, and there he expired in consequence of the injury he had received. His kindred resolved to revenge his death. The Indian appreciates the ties of kindred far beyond any white man. They may have less intelligence; but the chords of nature are stronger, the sensibilities of the heart more lively than those which stimulate our Christian, enlightened action. It is well known

that the grief which resounds through the Indian camp, when a warrior or chief expires, or when a relative dies, is like the wailing of Egypt. When this chief expired, his friends sought for a white man, that they might take vengeance on him—not for those who had inflicted the wrong, but whoever they might happen to find among the whites. They first came upon the mail party. One, who was not a relative of the chief, said to one of his kindred, "there is a white man, you can now take vengeance on him; you are a coward if you do not do so." He said, "I am no coward; but if you say it, I will kill him." Then he went and killed two out of the three composing the mail party.

Now, sir, what had been the condition of the Indian country previous to these occurrences? I have been assured by gentlemen who have passed from California to Fort Laramie, a distance of one thousand four hundred or one thousand five hundred miles, that they met individuals traveling alone through that vast region. They passed through a wilderness of one thousand four hundred or one thousand five hundred miles unassailed, and without injury from any one. Did this look like a desperate feeling on the part of the Indians, when they allowed unprotected individuals, sometimes singly, occasionally in small companies of three or four persons, to pass through their country unmolested? No, sir. It is some sudden act of wrong and outrage which stimulates the Indian to aggression. He has no inducement to it unless he expects great plunder, because he is very well aware that if he cultivates kind and friendly relations with the whites, he can receive from them supplies that he cannot obtain any other way—things which gratify his taste for dress, and supply his wants and appetites. For this reason, the Indian is always disposed to be in peace and friendship with his white neighbors if he can.

I have given some illustrations of the so-called Indian outrages. I may refer to another one, which not long since took place in Oregon, and which is given, in some quarters, as a reason why an increase of the Army is required. I refer to a recent massacre of the Indians at a ferry house in Oregon, as described by the agents and superintendents of that Territory. A number of miners to the amount of forty, associated together to attack a village of seventy Indians, men, women, and children, without any means of defense, with only five pieces of fire-arms, pistols, and guns, and two of them entirely useless. The officer, who reports the action, describes in a most military and elegant style, the manner in which he assaulted the village in three divisions. They were entirely successful; killed some sixteen men, killed one squaw, and wounded a couple, and no children—that was merciful! But, sir, they scattered the warriors who were there defenseless, and applied the torch to their wigwams. We are told by the gallant gentleman who reported the matter, that the next day the Indians were there hovering about the mouldering ashes of their wigwams. This gallant and chivalrous man, wonderful to relate, says he did not lose a man in the attack. Was he not lucky? [Laughter.] That fellow must look out for a brevet; though I hope he will hardly come here claiming bounty land. [Laughter.]

This act is denounced by the agent and superin-

tendent as most cruel and barbarous. The poor creatures were willing to do anything and everything which was asked of them. They denied every charge that the malicious and the wanton had brought against them; and the truth of their narrative is indorsed by the agent, a man of intelligence. I do not know him; but his report bears the impress of intelligence and integrity.

Well, sir, these circumstances, it is said, call for an army of three regiments, or three thousand men. What are they to cost? Five millions of dollars is the amount which it is proposed to appropriate by the bill which was reported by the Senator from Illinois. We are to appropriate \$5,000,000 to bring on a great Sioux war, to meet a most wonderful confederacy, which, it is said, is forming among the Indians. Why, sir, they cannot keep together, because they are starving in little bands, even in those parts of the country where they can command the most game. How could they remain embodied for any length of time without supplies, without animals, and without food, when their women and children are starving? How could they, under such circumstances, remain a mighty confederation, to sweep our frontier? Why, sir, from the display that is made, by the terrible cry of alarm, one would think that New Orleans itself could hardly be safe, but that the Indians would sweep down the Missouri and Mississippi, and carry death, destruction, and devastation in their course!

Are these causes calculated to produce such mighty effects? Is it proper that the nation should be involved in a general Indian war at this time? Is it proper that \$5,000,000 should be expended from the Treasury to begin this war? If this be done, what will be the consequence? The Indians will not be embodied to meet you. Your troops will hear that in some direction there is a Comanche, or a Kiway, or an Osage camp, and they will advance upon it with "all the pomp and circumstance of a glorious war." A morning gun will be fired as a signal to rise and prepare for the march. On such an occasion, with the bugle sounding in advance, how beautiful must be the reflection from the arms and banners floating in the prairie! That is to be the spectacle which is to amuse or drive the Indians ahead. They are to meet the Indians on a trackless waste. You might as well pursue the course of a ship's keel on the ocean, as to pursue the Indians of the prairies. They would disperse, and your army would be left there; and they, perhaps, surrounding you, in the distance, and laughing at the glorious pomp with which you were marching through their prairies. If you take men there, and make a display without efficiency, you provoke their ridicule and supreme contempt.

But, Mr. President, the course which has been pursued, since the days of William Penn to the present moment, has not been entirely successful in conciliating the Indians. Under the management of Washington, of the first Adams, of Madison, of Monroe, of the second Adams, of Jackson, and of Polk, we have, with few exceptions, been very successful in maintaining peace with them. The suggestions made by our fathers, in relation to their civilization and humanization, are exemplified and illustrated in the present condition of the southern tribes, who have received the greatest benefits of the light shed on them; and

they have responded to it by the cultivation of mind, by the development of resources, both physical and intellectual, which reflect luster on their character. Cannot the Indian now be influenced in the same way, by the same means? Have we no landmarks to guide us? Have we not experience to teach us? Have we not humanity to prompt us to march on in the path which is already laid out before us?

Sir, how different is the policy now pursued from what it once was? I must read, for the instruction of the Senate, an extract from the last annual report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and I beseech your attention to it, because it contains more good sense and reflection than I could impart in the same number of words. It will be necessary in the examination of this subject, in relation both to the Indians and the Army, to see in what manner they harmonize with each other, and how far the one is necessary to the success of the other. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, in his report to the Secretary of the Interior, describes a transaction to which I wish to call attention:

"As heretofore reported to you, an association of persons has undertaken to appropriate to their own use a portion of the land ceded by the Delawares, fronting on the Missouri river, and south of Fort Leavenworth; have laid out a city thereon, and actually had a public sale of the lots of the same on the 9th and 10th of October last. These unlawful proceedings have not only taken place under the eyes of the military officers stationed at the fort, but two of them are said to be members of the association, and have been active agents in this discreditable business. Encouraged by these proceedings, and prompted by those engaged in them, other persons have gone on other portions of the tract ceded by the Delawares in trust to the United States, and pretend to have made, and are now making, such 'claims' as they assert will vest in them the lawful right to enter the land at the minimum price under the preemption law of July 12, 1854."

This is a specimen of the aid and succor afforded by military commanders to the agents to maintain and preserve peace among the Indians. These are the gentlemen to whom the agents look for coöperation in the discharge of their duties, and to afford equal protection to the Indians against aggressions from the whites, as to the whites against aggressions from the Indians. Such a transaction as is here disclosed is an act of unmitigated infamy in the officers who have lent themselves to it. I hope the Executive, in the plenitude of his power, and in the exercise of a wise and just discretion, will erase their names from the records of the country, and redeem our annals from infamy so blackening as this. Think, sir, of an officer wearing an American sword, adorned with American epauletts, the emblem of office and the insignia of honor and manly pride, degrading himself by a violation of the faith of his Government, rendering him a disgrace to the uniform which he wears and the earth upon which he treads!

It will be recollected that the Delaware Indians own one million eight hundred thousand acres of land. They ceded one million three hundred thousand acres to the Government of the United States for \$10,000, reserving to themselves the land on which the city referred to has been laid out, on the banks of the Missouri. They confided five hundred thousand acres to the Government of the United States, as they could not themselves dispose of it, except to the Government; and, believing that it would be a source of wealth and

independence to them, they have granted it to the Government, in trust, to be sold by it, the right of possession remaining in them until it should be disposed of. It appears, from the commissioner's report, that persons had gone and taken possession of this land. If they have not done so, they ought to be vindicated against the charge. I regard it as authentic and official, and until it is controverted, I have nothing to extenuate; nor do I set down aught in malice. Justice requires me to state the facts.

Mr. President, I said to the Senate, on a former occasion, that eighteen tribes of Indians had been located by this Government within the limits of the present Territories of Nebraska and Kansas, and that most of them had been removed there from the east of the Mississippi. They were located there under the faith of solemn pledges, that while grass grew, or water run, or the earth brought forth its fruits, they should remain on the lands assigned to them unless they chose to abandon them, and that they should not be included within the boundaries of any State or Territory. Notwithstanding this, these Indians were embraced within the Nebraska and Kansas bill. They were taken in—yes, sir, as strangers are sometimes “taken in.” What is now their condition, and what must it be in after time? On this point let the Commissioner of Indian Affairs speak. In his recent report he says, in reference to the Nebraska and Kansas Indians:

“In the recent negotiations for their lands, the Indians dwell upon the former pledges and promises made to them, and were averse generally to the surrender of any portion of their country. They said that they were to have the land ‘as long as grass grew, or water run,’ and they feared the result if they should consent to yield any part of their possessions. When they did consent to sell, it was only on the condition that each tribe should retain a portion of that tract as a permanent home. All were unitedly and firmly opposed to another removal. So fixed and settled was this idea, that propositions clearly for their interest were rejected by them.

“The residue of the tribes who have recently ceded their lands should, therefore, be considered (subject, in a few cases, to a contraction of limits) as permanently fixed. Already the white population is occupying the lands between, and adjacent to, the Indian reservations, and even going west of and beyond them; and at no distant day all the country immediately to the west of the reserves, which is worth occupying, would have been taken up. And then the current of population, until within a few years, flowing only from the East, now comes like an avalanche from the Pacific coast, almost overwhelming the indigenous Indians in its approaches. It is, therefore, in my judgment, clear, beyond a doubt or question, that the emigrated tribes in Kansas Territory are permanently there—there to be thoroughly civilized, and to become a consistent portion of the population; or there to be destroyed and exterminated. What a spectacle for the view of the statesman, philanthropist, Christian—a subject for the most profound consideration and reflection! With reservations dotting the eastern portion of the Territory, there they stand, the representatives and remnants of tribes once as powerful and dreaded as they are now weak and dispirited. By alternate persuasion and force, some of these tribes have been removed, step by step, from mountain to valley, and from river to plain, until they have been pushed half way across the continent. They can go no further; on the ground they now occupy the crisis must be met, and their future determined. Among them may be found the educated, civilized, and converted Indian, the benighted and inveterate heathen, and every intermediate grade. But there they are, and as they are, without standing obligations in their behalf of the most solemn and imperative character, voluntarily assumed by the Government. Their condition is a critical one; such as to entitle them not only to the justice of the Government, but to the most profound sympathy of the people. Extinction may be their fate, but not of necessity. By a union of good influences and proper effort, I believe they may, and will, be saved, and their complete civilization effected.

“Be that as it may, however, the duty of the Government, is, in my opinion, plain. It should fulfill, with the greatest promptness and facility, every treaty stipulation with these Indians; frown down, at the first dawning, any and every attempt to corrupt them; see that their ample annuities are directed faithfully to their education and improvement, and not made the means of their destruction; incessantly resist the efforts of the selfish and heartless men who, by the specious plans and devices for their own gain, may seek to distract and divide them; require diligence, energy, and integrity, in the administration of their affairs, by the agents who may be intrusted with their interests and welfare, and visit the severest penalty of the law on all who may violate its salutary provisions in relation to them. Let these things be done; the coöperation of the civil officers, magistrates, and good citizens of the Territory secured, and the most active efforts of the friends of the benevolent institutions now existing among them be brought into exercise for their moral culture; and, by harmonious and constant effort and action, a change may, and, it is believed, will, be brought about, and Kansas become distinguished as a land in which the complete and thorough civilization of the red man was worked out and accomplished.”

Sir, it is the violation of treaties, and the bad faith of the white man, and his aggressive course, that cause the inquietude of the Indian, and we feel it very much in the section of country in which I live. There is a remedy; and that remedy must be applied, or the Indians exterminated, at an expense ten times beyond what would civilize, in half a century, every red man who walks upon the soil of America. I have seen tribes rise from a state of barbarism to a condition in which they are as civilized in their institutions, in their religion, and in their social refinement and habits as citizens of the United States, and all this has been done within half a century. These things are as possible now as at any former time; and a sum, very easily calculated, less than the amount estimated as necessary to raise these troops and subsist them for one year, would civilize every Indian on the continent, set him down on a piece of land, and give him “a local habitation and a name.” Is it not worth an attempt? Is it not worth accomplishment? Sir, let me give you some experience in relation to Indians.

The United States have regiments in Texas, and Texas is considered by some as a burden on the Treasury. Texas, it is said, exhausts the Army of the United States, and withdraws them from more eligible stations to protect her frontier. I will show you, sir, how that is. In 1842 and 1843 Texas had a war on hand which had been brought about by an exterminating policy proclaimed by a new Administration, and peace was not restored until 1843, when the head of the Government of Texas went about the work of their civilization. He went into the wilderness, on the prairies, and there met the Indians, who would not trust themselves within the timbered land, nor near any place where there was a possibility of ambuscade. A treaty was there made, which not only stayed the tomahawk, and the scalping knife, but preserved peace and safety on the frontier until 1849. We were for six years without massacre, without conflagration, without prisoners being taken. Not a Texan was killed in that time by the Indians. One man was killed near the Indian country, but whether by the Mexicans or Indians was a doubtful question; at any rate he was not scalped.

Now, sir, how was this done? By what means? By pursuing a policy which had been initiated in 1836, but was disrupted in 1838, and a war

brought upon the entire borders of that young Republic. The old policy was reestablished in 1843. Resistance was made to it, as there was to every attempt made to establish a Government. There was an attempt, on the part of some lawless men, to resist everything like order and organization, and throw the Government into anarchy and misrule; but they failed. These Indians had been our enemies; they had been exasperated by unprovoked aggressions upon them; but the proper conciliatory disposition soon won their regard and affection. What was the expense of all this? I am almost afraid to state it, for I fear it will not be credited when we see the enormous estimates now made for the expense of treaties with the Indians. Sir, every dollar given to the Executive of Texas to consummate these treaties, to feed the Indians, to make presents, was annually \$10,000; and he rendered vouchers for the last cent. For this sum peace was accomplished and maintained, the safety and protection of our frontiers insured, and the Indians made peaceable and happy.

When Texas was annexed to the United States, these Indians, on account of faith having been maintained with them by the then Executive of Texas, refused to meet and confer with the commissioners sent to them by the President of the United States, until they had the sanction of the Government of Texas; and the symbols of confidence were put in the hands of the commissioners before the Indians would treat with them. A treaty was then negotiated. What was the history of it? One of the commissioners—a noble and gallant gentleman, who afterwards fell at Chapultepec, in Mexico, at the head of his regiment—was too much indisposed to render any assistance. His co-commissioner assumed the whole business; and what did he do? He had the Indians' names signed with a mark on a sheet of paper, had it attested, and brought it on here. He made large promises to the Indians; he assured them of an annuity of \$14,000, to be paid annually, at a certain trading house; but when he wrote his treaty, (for he did not write it until he came here, when he appended to it the sheet containing the signatures,) it contained a provision that they should receive barely \$14,000 as a full acquittance. It cost \$60,000 to negotiate this treaty, as the records of the Treasury show. This is a sum equal to the price of six years peace between the Indians and the Government of Texas. Perhaps, however, the people of Texas were better then than now. Since that time they have been under the Government of the United States. I simply state facts. I leave the inference to others.

Sir, if the agent appointed by Mr. Polk, who has been restored by the present Executive—it is a bright spot in his Administration, and I commend him for it—had never been removed, there would have been peace to this day on the borders of Texas; but as soon as the Indian agent who was appointed to succeed him went there, he must forthwith establish a ranche; he must have a farm. The Indians who had been settled there from 1843 up to 1849, had been furnished by the Government of Texas with implements of husbandry, with seeds of every description, and they were cultivating their little farms. They were comfortable and independent. They were living in perfect peace. If you can get Indians located, and place their wives and children within your

cognizance, you need never expect aggression from them. It is the Indian who has his wife in security, beyond your reach, who, like the felon wolf, goes to a distance to prey on some flock, far removed from his den; or like the eagle, who seeks his prey from the distance, and never from the flocks about his eyrie. The agent to whom I have referred lost two oxen from his ranche where he kept his cattle. He went to the officer in command of Fort Belknap, got a force from him, and then marched to those Indians sixty miles from there, and told them they must pay for the oxen. They said, "We know nothing about your oxen; our people are here; here are our women and children; we have not killed them; we have not stolen them; we have enough to eat; we are happy; we have raised corn; we have sold corn; we have corn to sell; we have sold it to your people, and they have paid us for it, and we are happy." The agent and the military gentlemen scared off the Indians from the limits of Texas, and drove them across the Red river to the Wichita mountains, taking every horse and animal they had to pay for the two oxen. This was done by an accredited agent of the Government, and by an officer who deserved but little credit. Are such things tolerable, and to be tolerated in the present age and condition of our Government?

What was the consequence? Those Indians felt themselves aggrieved. They saw that a new régime had come; they had had the era of peace and plenty, and now they were expelled by a different influence. They felt grateful for the benign effects of the first policy towards them, and that only exasperated them to a greater extent against the second; and they began to make incursions, ready to take vengeance on any white men they might meet in their neighborhood, and slay whoever they might find. They made their forays from the opposite side of the Red river, from the Wichita mountains, and came like an avalanche upon our unprotected citizens. There is one fact showing how your interference with the Indians within her limits has injured Texas.

There is another fact in connection with the Indian policy of Texas which I shall mention. How was it with the Wichita Indians? Texas sought to conciliate them; they lived beyond her borders, and made incursions from the limits of the United States into Texas, while she was an independent Republic. She did everything in her power to bring about peace with them, and, through the friendly Indians, was pacifying them. One of their chiefs, with his wife and little child, and twelve of his men, came to Fort Belknap. Some one hundred and fifty or two hundred miles west of the fort, at Hamilton's valley, property had been stolen by Indians. It was not known which out of thirteen different tribes had taken it; for outlaws occasionally congregated from each, half a dozen of them stealing off from their tribes, without the influence of their chiefs operating upon them. They were outlaws, careless of the destiny of their tribes, and reckless of the crimes which they might commit, so that they could gratify their cupidity and recompense their daring. These men had taken some property. Dragoons came on in the direction of Red river, and reached Fort Belknap. So soon as they arrived, the officer said to this chief: "Sir, I retain you as a prisoner. It is true, you came under a white flag; but I am an

officer; I have the power; I take you prisoner, and you must stay here a prisoner until the horses are brought back. Your men must stay, too, except one, whom I will send to your tribe with intelligence of the fact." The chief said: "My tribe have not committed the robbery; it is a great distance from me; it is in another direction. I come from the rising sun; that is towards the setting sun; I was far from it; you are between me and it; I did not do it." "But," said the officer, "you are a prisoner." The officer put him in the guard-house. Imprisonment is eternal infamy to an Indian. A prairie Indian would rather die a thousand deaths than submit to the disgrace of imprisonment. You may wound and mutilate him as you please, you may crush every limb in the body of a prairie Indian, and if he can make no other resistance, he will spit defiance at you when you come within his reach. This chief, meditating upon his deep disgrace, knowing that he was irreparably dishonored, unless he could wash out his stains with blood, resolved that night that he would either die a freeman or rescue himself from dishonor. He rose in the night. He would not leave his wife and child in the hands of his enemy; so he took his knife, and stabbed his squaw and little one to the heart. Not a groan was heard, for he well knew where to apply the poignard. He went and shot down the sentinel, rushed upon the superior officers, was shot, and perished like a warrior, in an attempt to wipe a stain from his honor. His men fled and returned to their tribe, but it was to bring blood, carnage, and conflagration upon our settlements. They came not again as brothers to smoke the calumet of peace, but with brands in their hands to set fire to our houses. Contrast that with the previous years; contrast it with the harmony which had before existed, and you see the lamentable result of sending, as Indian agents and Army officers to take charge of the Indians, men who know nothing about the Indian character.

Well, sir, how can Texas expect peace, how can she expect protection to her citizens? Not from your army. It has never given her protection; it is incompetent to give protection; and it is a reproach to the country. I will not say anything personally unkind of the officers who command, for they are gentlemen; but I say they know nothing about the Indians, and I shall prove it. Texas deserves protection, and she can have it if a rational effort be made to give it to her, but not by your troops. What sort of protection can she expect from hostile Indians when the commanding officer of that military department a gallant gentleman, who has borne himself nobly in the heat of battle, skillful in design, bold and gallant in execution, and in all the martial arts replete, but amongst the Indians unskilled. He has issued an order that no Indian should go within twenty miles of a fortress on the frontier of Texas. The Indians think, "Very well, you say the Indians shall not come within twenty miles of your forts, and we say your men shall not come within twenty miles of us, or we will shoot them." That is a pretty good notion for an Indian; it is very natural. The boundary is fixed by the white man, and the Indian lives up to it.

Well, sir, there is a remedy for all this, and it is very easy to apply it; but how are we circumstanced there? It is supposed by some that we

are deriving great aid from the Army, and that the greatest portion of the disposable forces of the United States is in Texas, and protecting it? How can they protect us against the Indians when the cavalry have not horses which can trot faster than active oxen, and the infantry dare not go out in any hostile manner for fear of being shot and scalped! Can they pursue a party who pounce down on a settlement and take property, and reclaim that property? Have they ever done it? Did the old rangers of Texas ever fail to do it, when they were seated on their Texas ponies? They were men of intelligence and adroitness in regard to the Indian character, and Indian warfare. Do you think a man is fit for such service who has been educated at West Point Academy, furnished with rich stores of learning; more educated in the science of war than any general who fought through the Revolution, and assisted in achieving our independence. Are you going to take such gentlemen, and suppose that by intuition they will understand the Indian character? Or do you suppose they can track a turkey, or a deer, in the grass of Texas, or could they track an Indian, or would they know whether they were tracking a wagon or a carriage. [Laughter.] Not at all, sir. We wish, in the first place, to have men suited to the circumstance. Give us agents who are capable of following out their instructions, and who understand the Indian character. Give us an army, gentlemen, who understand not only the science of command, but have some notions of extending justice and protection to the Indian, against the aggression of the whites, while they protect the whites against the aggressions from the Indians. Then, and not till then, will you have peace.

How is this to be done? Withdraw your army. Have five hundred cavalry, if you will; but I would rather have two hundred and fifty Texas rangers, (such as I could raise,) than five hundred of the best cavalry now in service. I would have one thousand infantry, so placed as to guard the United States against Mexico, and five hundred for scouting purposes. I would have five trading houses from the Rio Grande to the Red river for intercourse with the Indians. I would have a guard of twenty five men out of an infantry regiment, at each trading house, who should be vigilant and always on the alert. Cultivate intercourse with the Indians. Show them that you have comforts to exchange for their peltries; bring them around you; domesticate them; familiarize them with civilization. Let them see that you are rational beings, and they will become rational in imitation of you; but take no whisky there at all, not even for the officers, for fear there generosity should let it out. Do this, and you will have peace with the Indians. Whenever you convince an Indian that he is dependent on you for comforts, or for what he deems luxuries or elegancies of life, you attach him to you. Interest, it is said, governs the world, and it will soon ripen into affection. Intercourse and kindness will win the fiercest animal on earth except the hyena, and its spots and nature cannot be changed. The nature of an Indian can be changed. He changes under adverse circumstances, and rises into the dignity of a civilized being. If you war against him, it takes a generation or two to regenerate his race, but it can be done. I would have fields around the tradibe

houses. I would encourage the Indians to cultivate them. Let them see how much it adds to their comfort; how it insures to their wives and children abundant subsistence, and then you win the Indian over to civilization; you charm him, and he becomes a civilized man.

Sir, while people are seeking to civilize and christianize men on the banks of the Ganges, or the Jordan, or in Burrampootah, why should not the same philanthropic influence be extended through society, and be exerted in behalf of the American Indians? Is not the soul of an American Indian, in the prairie, worth as much as the soul of a man on the Ganges, or in Jerusalem? Surely it is. Then let the American Government step forward; let it plant the standard of regeneration and civilization among the Indians, and it will command the coöperation of the citizens in their philanthropic efforts. I am willing to appeal to the venerable and distinguished Senator from Michigan, who knows what an Indian is, and what his disposition is, perhaps more thoroughly than I do myself. To him would I defer, but to no other man, for a certain and intimate knowledge of the Indian character.

There is another point in connection with the dealings of the Government with the Texas Indians to which I will advert. There are the Camanches of the woods, and the Camanches of the prairie. The Texas Indians do not receive their annuities in Texas, but they are brought into Kansas, a great distance from us, where they receive the munificence of the Government in their annuities, on the east of the Red river and the Arkansas. What is the consequence? They believe Texas is not their friend, or that the Federal Government, from their crude notions of it, would pay them in Texas, and would not make them travel over rivers, and through trackless prairies, to receive their presents. They return to Texas, not with feelings of respect for the benefits they receive, but with contempt. This is bad policy. You should distribute your presents to the Texas Indians within the limits of Texas. Her territory is broad enough; her domain is fertile enough; her character is high enough to justify you in doing so. She has done much for herself—more than this Government has ever done for her.

In order to treat with the Indians properly, as I have said, you should take away your troops, except the portion I have stated. The Indians, with the exception of the Osages, Kiowas, and Kaws, are disposed to be friendly, I believe. As to the disaffection of the Siouxs, I look on it only as an uprising to resist aggression. They were fired on by artillery and small arms, without provocation, and it is but natural that they should resist. Theirs is not a confederation to assail the whites, but to protect themselves. I justify them in doing it. I am sorry there is a necessity for it; but if I were among them, and they proposed a confederacy to repel cruelty and butchery, I would join them; and he would be a dastard who would not.

When gentlemen speak of a war upon the Indians, have they considered the consequences? You may succeed in killing their women and children, but it is a remarkable fact that you kill but very few of the warriors. Those who march with martial display upon the Indians, find them to-night at one point at dark; they may see the smoke

of their fires; and at dawn to-morrow they will be fifty or seventy miles away, with their caravans, and every child and woman, not even a dog being left behind. What army that you could send of three thousand men, or any other number, could effect anything by making war upon the Indians? Why, sir, it would be like the redoubtable exploit of the celebrated King of France, who, "with forty thousand men marched up a hill, and then marched down again." [Laughter.] Yes, sir, that I predict would be the history of such a campaign.

To accomplish the object here contemplated, it is proposed to spend \$5,000,000. As I have said before, that amount of money would civilize every Indian on the continent, if you sent men of intelligence and capacity among them to do it. I have been delighted with the reports which I have had the opportunity of glancing at, accompanying the annual report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. One from a gentleman who now occupies a seat in the other House [Mr. WHITFIELD] gratified me exceedingly. I have had the pleasure of seeing him but once since my arrival. I knew him, when a youth, in Tennessee, and he has more than met my expectations, though then they were not indifferent. He has proved himself to be a man of fine perceptions, of excellent judgment, and of good heart. He has capacity to treat with and to reclaim the Indians; and, I doubt not, that he and other gentlemen who could be associated with him, could go to the Indians, with five hundred troops, if you please—not march through the Indian country, but send word to the chiefs; let them know they had a force, and there is not a chief, who has had any relations with the United States, but would come forward willingly, make treaties, and maintain them in good faith. But you must establish trading houses; you must protect them, and then you may command the Indians absolutely, and you will have no murders upon your roads.

Sir, would it not be much wiser to send a few wagons with presents than to send an army? Would not the object be effected much sooner by sending commissioners with presents? The Executive and Senate are the treaty-making power, and all that is necessary for Congress to do, is to make an appropriation for the purpose. Would it not be much easier to take presents to the Indians, and would not the object of attaining and preserving peace be much sooner effected in this way than by an army? While you were clothing and equipping your army, and marching it there, the Indians might kill half the people on the frontier. Your army would have to march thousands of miles to reach them; but commissioners could go quietly along, with four or five hundred troops, or as many as might be necessary; I would leave that to their discretion; I would select men of capacity for fighting as well as for treating. Send such men, and there will be no trouble in bringing about peace. My life upon it, \$5 000,000 would suffice to civilize every Indian who has ever been in treaty with the United States, and settle him in a quiet comfortable home.

Some time since the present agent in Texas was ordered to lay off a section of country in that State for the use of the Indians. He did so. He said to the fierce Camanches, "Come here, my brothers, and settle down." They have done so. The Indians to whom I before alluded, who were

driven off by the former agent, after robbing them of their horses, upon the assurances given at the return of the present worthy and intelligent agent, faithful to his trust, came back in perfect confidence, and set themselves to building their houses to shelter their women, old men, and children, while the warriors went out to kill game. There they are. The southern Camanches went within the border, and said, "Let us settle;" but they were immediately told, through the influence of the Army, I suppose, that they must not settle there. I saw, not long since, a letter from a most intelligent gentleman, who said that the officer at Fort Belknap, with three companies of rangers, and two of regulars, was daily expecting to make a descent on the poor Indians who had been settled there by the agent, under the pledges of the Government, which promised them that they should have a country where they should throw away the arts of the wild and the red man, and become domestic, agricultural, and civilized in their pursuits. They have acquiesced in that policy of the Government, but are in constant dread lest the military gentleman in command of the fort, in order to gain laurels and acquire glory, and do honor to his profession, may make a descent with the regulars and volunteers, or rangers, upon the poor Indians. If intelligence of such a descent should arrive, I should not be surprised. I shall be distressed, to be sure; but it will only be one of a thousand distresses which I have felt at the wrongs inflicted on the Indians.

I have before spoken, Mr. President, of the talk as to the Army being applied to the defense of Texas. What is the efficiency of that Army? There are three companies at Fort Belknap. What force do you suppose they have? They have the incredible amount of efficient force (and part of them on the alert, reconnoitering and scouting) of just sixty men. There were sixty men out of three companies! Now, how many men constitute a company?

Mr. SHIELDS. Sixty-four.

Mr. HOUSTON. They have not one third of the requisite number. The amount at a fort where there are two companies, is thirty men. This is the protection you afford to Texas. We have no efficient force in Oregon. I have discovered, in looking over the reports that, at the fort, near the ferry house, where the massacre of such unprecedented atrocity took place, there were but four soldiers. This is the protection your Army affords?

Now, sir, is it politic to increase the regular force of the United States? To govern a country well, where intelligence predominates over selfishness and interest, I think the smaller the Army is the better. I have had some experience in that. It is very well to take care of arms and ordnance stores, and army stores which would be useful in time of war. It is necessary, I think, to have an Army for that purpose. You may have as great a stock of science as you please; but it does not follow that you are bound to make an officer of every gentleman you educate at West Point. I do not think it would be wise policy to extend the Army to suit the establishment of the Military Academy, but rather the Military Academy to the interests and exigencies of the country. That is my opinion about the Army.

The nominal number of the Army is fourteen

thousand. There is not a vacancy, I presume, for an officer in the whole service. According to the data I have before me, and the items I have given, I suppose there are about four thousand five hundred men in the service. To make the actual number of fourteen thousand complete, you would have to make the nominal force three times fourteen thousand. Let the head of the Department show that they can keep this establishment perfect before they go to ingrafting new limbs on it, in its present imperfect condition. Let the trunk be sound before you graft it. I know that the officers will never be less than the establishment; and if the soldiers be less than the establishment, it shows that it is too large, and ought rather to be reduced. Whenever we see that the present establishment is kept in order, and the requisite number of men to make it complete always in the service, it will commend itself to consideration; and if a greater amount of force, or a larger establishment, be necessary, it would be acceded to. I do not, however, now see any necessity for it. If you increase it, it will never get less. We know that, even when the Army is increased in time of war, there is difficulty in reducing it to a peace establishment afterwards. It has always been the case, and always will be, that a man, by once holding an office temporarily, acquires a claim to it which is enforced by relatives and friends; and the Army thereby will become an eye-sore to the people, and a carbuncle upon the body politic.

It may be asked, sir, how I would furnish protection to the emigrants who travel on the plains to California and Oregon. I would fix a proper season at which they should take their departure from Fort Laramie. I would have them depart in companies, each company consisting of about one thousand emigrants. Out of these one thousand, the usual proportion would be about two hundred and fifty men. I would give them a guard of two hundred and fifty more, making five hundred men to each company. I would have them start in three several bodies in the course of the year, so that they should accomplish the trip properly, and let them start at such distances that they should not be more than one hundred miles apart. In this way they would be enabled to march across the plains without difficulty. I would have a fort at each end of the road to prevent the passage of a company incompetent to defend themselves, and not let them undertake to cross the wilderness alone. This is the course which I would pursue, and, I think, in this way perfect security would be given to the emigrants. Thus, if our citizens would make the venture, they would have an escort and a protection capable of resisting all the Indian power which might come upon them.

Sir, in the course of my remarks I have said some things which might seem to bear upon the officers of the Army as a class. My partialities for military men, and for gentlemen of the Army, are of a character not to be doubted. I know their high-toned feeling, their honorable bearing, and their chivalry; and when I commented upon some of them, I only spoke of such as brought themselves within the purview of my remarks by impropriety of conduct, deserving the reprobation of every man who appreciates honorable feelings, integrity, and truthfulness. As a class, however, I admire and respect them. I have experienced

their hospitalities. Once I enjoyed their association with pleasure; and my recollections of early habits, formed in their companionship, always mark a verdant spot in memory's waste. It is only the guilty and the culpable that I condemn.

Sir, I believe the honorable chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs has withdrawn that portion of the amendment relating to the appointment of three commissioners to treat with the Indians. But, Mr. President, if we wish to do good to the Indians, we have it in our power; if we wish to destroy them, we can starve them out. If we intend to save them, we can do it by appealing to their best feelings. There is one pathway to an Indian's heart. If you show him that comforts and benefits are to result to his wife and children, you may command him absolutely, and he yields implicitly. He has no opposing thought to their interest. I have always seen that if you could impress an Indian with the conviction that comfort and security would inure to his squaw and papposes, from the adoption of a particular policy, he would submit to it. My colleague [Mr. Rusk] knows that this is the way to the heart of an Indian. The proudest warrior is humiliated at the thought of his wife and little ones being in the least uncomfortable. Whenever an Indian intends to conciliate the whites, he brings his family and settles as near as he can to a fort or agency, and says, "Here are the hostages I give you for my fidelity to you; if I do wrong, I know they will suffer; they are dearer to me than my life." The Indians can be brought around trading-houses.

I have lost all hope of the stations in Texas doing any good. I would not have more than twenty-five men at a trading-house to give protection, in the event of any ebullition among the Indians of a violent character. It would be entirely accidental if such a necessity happened around the trading-houses, as to require protection to be given to the caravans emigrating to California and Oregon. I would encourage the Indians in the arts of peace. You need no armies; you need no Indian allies to butcher them. All you have to do is to maintain your faith in carrying out the treaties which have been made, and not directly or indirectly encourage men to violate every principle of honor and humanity, and deride even faith itself.

After some remarks by Mr. JONES, of Tennessee,

Mr. HOUSTON said: The honorable Senator from Tennessee, in the course of his remarks, has fallen into several errors; he certainly has misapprehended me as to the import of my remarks about the force necessary to guard the emigrants. I estimated them, perhaps, at three thousand annually; I do not care whether it be three hundred or three hundred thousand; but in proportion as they are numerous, they will afford themselves efficient means of defense; and, according to my calculation, in twenty thousand there would be furnished five thousand fighting men. Then, as to a smaller force, if they were organized in the march, a small addition of soldiers would be sufficient to give them all the protection that would be necessary. It is necessary to subdivide them into such companies as can conveniently travel together, on account of grass, water, and other supplies that they must procure on the prairies.

As to the Army and its efficiency, I remark,

that if the Army were filled up to the amount that is necessary, it would take three times fourteen thousand nominally, to furnish an efficient force of fourteen thousand in the field. I estimate the efficient force at about one third of the number that appears on paper.

Mr. SHIELDS. Will the Senator permit me to interrupt him?

Mr. HOUSTON. With great pleasure.

Mr. SHIELDS. The legal or authorized force is a little over fourteen thousand, but the actual force is about eleven thousand.

Mr. HOUSTON. Then, Mr. President, for security, it will be necessary to keep encampments in sight from Fort Laramie until they reach California. If they are ever out of sight of a guard sufficient to protect them, they are liable to depredation. If small companies of only a hundred men can thus travel, they will travel at their own risk and go to their certain destruction, unless the Indians are conciliated; and that shows the necessity of making peace with them. The honorable Senator from Tennessee says that it is an imperative necessity to send the army. He says if the commissioners fail, you must have recourse to chastisement, but if they succeed, the force of three thousand men will be unnecessary.

But, Mr. President, my life upon it, and I do not say it lightly, if from three hundred to five hundred men were taken by the three commissioners; or, if they limited their escort to forty, or fifty, or one hundred men, they would succeed in conciliating every Indian on this side of the Rocky mountains, if in the mean time the white men do not commit aggression. If you send such discreet men as could be selected, you can keep peace; and yet, upon the contingency that they may not succeed, you are to go to the expense of an army. But if we cannot keep up our present establishment of fourteen thousand complete and effective for actual service, with all the resources of this nation, its increased bounty, and pay, and rations, let us give up the Army; let them go to more useful employments. What is the use of talking about making the establishment commensurate with the present wants, if you cannot keep up the present establishment to the necessities and exigencies of the country? Let them do that, and expose the fallacy of the theory which says that we must keep on increasing the Army until we get the requisite number to keep up to the established standard. Let them reduce the officers to the number of men. That is the way to do it. We must have some criterion to go by; and until we do it we shall never have an efficient Army. The Army is small enough. Its efficiency is the great object. Now, fourteen thousand men are sufficient for all the exigencies of the country; and we must have some mode to give the emigrants security, or they must go at their own hazards or adventure. I desire to give them protection. You have to rely upon the disposition of the Indians for security to our emigrants. Unless you conciliate them, all the armies we can take will never give the emigrants protection. What kind of security can you give to emigrants for a distance of fifteen or eighteen hundred miles? You can give no protection where the troops would be a mile apart, for the unprotected emigrants might be attacked and slaughtered before any succor could come to them. Sir, it is the feelings of the Indians

which you have to conciliate; it is their friendship, their confidence, you must obtain. Treat them with justice and liberality, and a hundredth part of the money which you spend in supporting the Army will keep them faithful. They will not violate a treaty unless the aggression is commenced by the whites. A few outlaws of a tribe may; but in such a case the tribe will not sacrifice its annuities for the lives of outcasts. It will either execute them or hand them over to the military authority of the country for condign punishment.

In this way a few examples would have an electric influence upon all the tribes, for they have a more direct communication than the United States Government possesses with all its mail facilities, until it establishes a telegraph. They carry intelligence a hundred miles in twenty-four hours, and do you think that the laying off of this town in Kansas is not already communicated to every tribe of Indians in the prairies? Yes, it is; they know that the white man has told the Indians, the Delawares, a lie; they know they have stolen their land; they know there is no faith to be reposed in them. Keep faith with them, send men who are wise and instructed in the Indian disposition and character, and they will give you peace—my life upon it. You have not a solitary man between the Mississippi and the Pacific coast, but knows that all the money in the Treasury lavished, will never give you peace or protection to the emigrants, until you have the confidence and the friendship of the Indians. Were you to pay ten thousand, or a hundred thousand, or two hundred thousand dollars to keep the troops there, they would render no aid of importance to the emigrants, unless you secure the friendship of the Indians. Whenever that is secured you will have peace, but as long as you rely on military force to give protection to the emigrants, you will not have peace.

JANUARY 31, 1855.

After a speech by Mr. DODGE, of Iowa,

Mr. HOUSTON said: Mr. President, I am impressed with the belief that any effort of mine, on the present occasion, will be unavailing for the accomplishment of the object which I have in view; but, nevertheless, I regard it as an imperative duty to do everything in my power to prevent the adoption of a course of policy which I consider detrimental to the peace and security of our frontier settlements.

I admit, sir, that the measure proposed by the Senator from Illinois, [Mr. SHIELDS,] as chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, is presented to the Senate in an imposing manner. It seems to be indorsed by the Secretary of War and the President of the United States; but, though I entertain full respect for the opinions of those distinguished gentlemen, I must be allowed liberty to investigate the subject for myself, and to put my own construction on the facts which are laid before us. It is not sufficient for me that a measure comes here indorsed by the recommendation of the Executive. If I entertain a different view from the Executive on any point, I must act, as a Senator, on my own judgment, and not in subserviency to the views of others. Are we to acquiesce in the proposition now presented to us, because the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. JONES] and

the Senator from Georgia [Mr. DAWSON] tell us it is indorsed by the Executive Departments, and has received their approbation? Are we to become the mere recording instruments of the opinions of the Executive, without the privilege of investigating subjects, and acting on them independent of those influences which may be brought to bear on us? For my own part, Mr. President, I shall, when placed here for the purpose of deliberation and action, always exercise my own opinions, however much I may defer to the recommendations and opinions of others, as I am responsible, not only to my constituents, but to the nation.

I must confess, Mr. President, that I cannot regard the necessity as urgent as it seems to be esteemed by other gentlemen, and by those who have recommended it. It seems to be a measure of war, and retaliation for wrongs done; it is a measure which, we are told, is necessary to save our frontiers from aggression, and to protect them against violence and warfare. I cannot arrive at that conclusion. However misguided I may be, or however obtuse my faculties, I cannot see the slightest indications of a disposition, on the part of the Indians, to wage hostilities against this country, or to endanger the lives of our citizens, if a correct policy were pursued. Sir, we must go to the origin of this matter, to see how far causes have influenced the present condition of things. We shall then be in a situation to apply the necessary remedies, and to secure our frontiers against aggression. In the first place, we are informed by the Secretary of War that—

“During the past year the Sioux had committed many depredations upon the property of the emigrants passing Fort Laramie on their route to Oregon and Utah. On the 19th of August, Lieutenant Grattan, of the 6th infantry, was sent, by the commander of the post, with thirty five men to arrest an offender. This entire force was massacred by the Indians, with the exception of one man who escaped severely wounded, and subsequently died. The circumstances of this affair were at first involved in obscurity; but authentic details have since proved that the massacre was the result of a deliberately formed plan, prompted by a knowledge of the weakness of the garrison at Fort Laramie, and by the temptation to plunder a large quantity of public and private stores accumulated at or near that post. The number of the Indians engaged in the affair was between fifteen hundred and two thousand men.”

It is very strange that numerous outrages have been committed, as we are told by the Secretary of War. Sir, what are the facts? Not a single outrage was committed upon the frontier in the vicinity of Fort Laramie but this; and how was it produced? Was it produced by the Indians? We are told by the Secretary, too, forsooth, that an ambuscade was laid for the purpose of decoying this lieutenant, and massacring him and his party. Strange it was, indeed, that he should not have discovered that ambuscade, when he, for the distance of a mile or more, had marched through the Indians, with two pieces of artillery, to arrest an Indian, without requiring the chiefs, or waiting for them, to surrender the offender. But what was the offense? The killing of a crippled cow. That embraces the repeated outrages upon the people in the vicinity of Fort Laramie, and on the route to Oregon and to California!

Let us look into the facts. We are told by a most intelligent gentleman, General Whitfield, an Indian agent, that these Indians had committed no depredations until they were fired upon, and

one of their chiefs wounded. That took place before they attempted to retaliate; and even then, in the first instance, they abstained from anything like retaliation, through the influence of their chiefs, until the artillery was fired upon them. Did that look like an ambuscade, which was laid, or a deliberate design to massacre the party? Sir, these are facts. They are not deductions. They are verified by as gallant a man as ever was in a camp of the United States—a man of intelligence, and of character. What was the condition of the Indians there? Why, sir, they had been promised annuities. They were aware that the goods had arrived there. They had been there for nearly three weeks. The Indians had patiently waited. Their provisions were scarce. The agent was expected to return daily, and did soon return and possess himself of all the facts. The individual who was relied on by the War Department, made an authentic statement to the agent, which was verified by no less than seven witnesses who were on the ground, that the aggression was made by the lieutenant, and at the instigation of a drunken interpreter, from whom the lieutenant had taken a bottle of whisky, and had thrown it down and broken it. Who can suppose that such a medium through which to communicate to the Indians was calculated either to inspire respect or confidence, or that he was a very suitable medium through which to present grave matters, and make reclamation for a cow?

Sir, that cow is to become the wonderful prodigy of the present age, and she is to enlist the sympathies of the whole country for the lieutenant and his company, who fell victims to indiscretion and rashness. Doubtless, induced by the language of this drunken interpreter, he acted with the indiscretion that would characterize youth, but not the deliberation of manhood, and yet this country is to be involved in a war, the least expense to be attached to which will be \$5,000,000. It will be an expensive cow; and after you have carried on the war as long as the war continued in Florida, and it has cost you another forty-five millions, you will end it in the same way, by peace. Where they have boundless deserts, and mountains, and fastnesses, and plains in which to find security, and when those in Florida, who were hemmed in an isthmus or a cape, could not be reduced by the Army of the United States, and the militia of the South, how are you going to take troops thousands of miles to subdue these Indians in the illimitable West? It is impossible that it can be done, Mr. President. Then you will have to purchase peace; and, beside all that, for ten years to come, you will have to increase your officers, and clerks in your accounting offices, to pay for the lost horses, and the incidental losses and injuries done.

But, we are told by the honorable Senator from Alabama [Mr. FITZPATRICK] that there is great danger from the Indians, in large bodies of two thousand five hundred, sweeping down the Missouri river and the Mississippi, and that carnage, massacre, and slaughter, will be the consequence of it. Much respect as I have for the honorable Senator—and I assure you it is of the most sincere character—I cannot agree with him on these Indian subjects, though he has lived in a State contiguous to the Indians, but of a character very different from those of the plains. The Indians of the plains are *sui generis* when compared with

others. They are not like the Indians located in the towns or wigwams of the South; they have no marks of civilization in their habits. The want of contact with the whites has deprived them of a thousand advantages which the Indians of the South possessed from the earliest recollection of the Senator.

But, sir, how would a force of Indians embody themselves on the frontiers and remain for twenty days embodied? It cannot be done. My honorable colleague [Mr. Rusk] well knows that they cannot do it, unless they have the appliances and comforts of the white man; unless they have stock from which they can prepare provisions for the occasion, and produce grain. It is impossible, sir, and it is now their daily employment, with the exception of a few outlaws or war parties that occasionally go out to engage in hunting, to support their women and children, and to keep them from starvation. Yes, sir, it is impossible that they can embody themselves, and remain fourteen days embodied, in an attitude menacing to the security of our frontier settlements.

I apprehend no danger. We find, from every circumstance, that the Indians there are perfectly disposed to peace and conciliation. There is no disposition to go to war, except on the part of some outlaws in each tribe, who may go on predatory excursions, regardless of the authority of their chiefs; but the chiefs have influence enough, for they are despotic, their power is absolute, and if you will give them time they will control the tribe, and those fellows will be surrendered, and make an atonement for their crimes. They will be surrendered, for, after the killing—I will not call it massacre—or after their repelling of the attack made by Lieutenant Grattan and his party, which terminated so disastrously to them, amounting almost to their entire extermination, the chiefs, apprehensive of the consequences, and of the difficulty of having the facts presented to this Government, and fearing the involvement of their wives and children in difficulties, and that they should be harassed and reduced to starvation to an extent greater than they had yet experienced, came forward with propositions to make reparation for the injury done, and to surrender the offenders. But the officer did not receive them. No, sir, he drove them off; “Away, sir, I want nothing to do with you.” If you wish to have a force, under such circumstances, exercising no more discretion or precaution than is here evinced, sufficient to protect our frontier, you will have to maintain three hundred thousand, instead of three thousand. Why could he not have said to the Indians: “Bring in the chiefs, I will await the decision,” or, “The agent will be here, or is here; talk to him;” but no, sir, the officers were willing to take the responsibility without referring it to the agent.

And here we find a discrepancy between the report of the head of the Indian bureau and the Secretary of War. We find that the Indian agent, in detailing the facts, gives them as they are, perfectly authenticated by the best evidence; and we find the officers giving a different glossary. These statements have to be reconciled. If I wished information in relation to the Army purely, I would, with great pleasure and respect, go to the Secretary of War, for I know his intelligence would respond to any inquiry that is proper to his duty; but if I want information in relation to the Indians,

I go to the head of the Indian bureau, where I expect to find an able, intelligent, and attentive gentleman. In the present instance, I am happy to say that I fully appreciate his conduct. I respect his capacity and his consistency in the discharge of the duties assigned to him.

Sir, do we find in the report of the Secretary of War as complete information in relation to Indian matters as we receive from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs? I think not. In relation to the recent outrages against the Delaware Indians, in the usurpation of their territory in disregard of every pledge made by this Government, we find that the Secretary of War has not reported the delinquency, or the criminality, of the officers engaged, but it comes in an authentic shape from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. What should be done in relation to this matter, it is not necessary that I should say. I gave my opinion the other day in relation to what ought to be done.

Mr. SHIELDS. The honorable Senator alludes to the delinquency of some officers of the Army. Now, when charges are made against certain officers, I want to get at their names. Let them be punished if they have committed a fault. I do not like to hear a general accusation without specifying the names of the individuals. Will the honorable Senator mention them?

Mr. HOUSTON. I assure the Senator that I do not exactly recollect; but I am perfectly willing to go as far as the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Doubtless they are matters of delicacy; and as an investigation may be pending—a court of inquiry, or a court-martial—in relation to the officers, he may not think proper to exhibit their names to the public. But he says that two officers of the Army were engaged in it; and I go as far as I am justified, in giving a statement which is authentic, I have no doubt—I am afraid it is; I wish I had a doubt. Our functionaries there, whether civil or military, are bound to protect the Indians equally with the whites. I want to see the officers impressed fully with the importance of their responsibilities. I want to see them as ready to maintain the dignity and character of the United States, and preserve, unsullied, its integrity, as I do, its arms and its chivalry. It is as much their duty to do so; and there is a chivalry always in protecting the weak against the strong, the defenseless against the aggressor. If the honorable chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs is prepared to say that no officer of the Army has been concerned in this nefarious transaction, I am perfectly willing to waive it. If I have done injustice, show it to me, and I will take it back. But if the Senator is not prepared to do it, I insist upon it, as a matter of grave consideration and import to the honor of the nation, that it devolves the responsibility on the Executive of prompt action.

Mr. SHIELDS. The honorable Senator will see, I think, the propriety of my request. He presents a report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, charging two officers of the Army with delinquency.

Mr. HOUSTON. Criminality.

Mr. SHIELDS. That is still worse; but he does not enlighten the Senate, or the world, as to who the two officers are; and yet he expects that we can answer for some two officers somewhere. Now, what I ask, in justice to the Army, in justice to the Senate, and in justice to the War De-

partment, is, that the honorable Senator specify who the men are, and what the criminality is of which they have been guilty, and then I will join him in punishing them.

Mr. HOUSTON. The report is made by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and is predicated upon the statement of General Whitfield. The gentlemen named are, Major Maclin and Major Ogden, of the United States Army. If they are innocent of this, I most heartily hope—having known one of them, and felt an interest in his appointment—they will be enabled to vindicate themselves most fully, and to establish the character which, I believe, they were entitled to up to this time, or until this information came.

Now, Mr. President, here was a report made in relation to the Indians at Fort Laramie. We are told that, for three years, these recommendations for an increase of the Army have been before the Senate; and yet, wonderful to tell, all the outrages that have been committed upon the emigrants to California, and Oregon, was the crippled cow transaction. Three years ago there was a call for this as loudly as there is now, and yet no disastrous consequences have taken place; for, if Lieutenant Grattan had never gone there, there would never have been any difficulty; or if, previous to that time, the Army had not gone and committed outrages upon the Indians across the Missouri river, there would not have been any difficulty.

Here, sir, by way way of digression, I will state that Governor Stevens, with sixty men, and comparatively few presents, perhaps not amounting to more than \$5,000 in value, traveled through all the hostile tribes from Fort Laramie, or where he first struck the Indian country, to Oregon, and never met with molestation. He conciliated them all; and he speaks of their great anxiety to conciliate the United States, and the great respect and hospitality with which he was treated. Sometimes his men were in numbers of four, or greater or less, as it happened, and they were always in perfect security, and treated with the utmost hospitality. He often ventured himself with three or four men into the midst of Indian lodges, and received their hospitality; and when he rose from a council, in which all his men had been seated on handsome buffalo skins, those skins were carried to his tent as an expression of respect and hospitality. The Indians could, at any time, have annihilated his whole command; but he was a gentleman of discretion, and possessed of as much chivalry as any one who wore the uniform of the United States. That shows you that there is no actual danger.

We hear constantly of traders going through the country; and when a gentleman here felt some little alarm on one occasion, and described his situation as most critical, he said that traders had gone out when these occurrences took place at Fort Laramie, and he would have sent for them, only he was afraid they would all be massacred. The Indian traders have gone on. They have nothing to defend them. They have no guards, no arms; and yet a simple trader, with persons enough, Indian or white, to pack and convey the articles of traffic which he possesses, or the proceeds of his trade, can go through the whole Indian country, and not meet with the slightest molestation or injury. How does this happen, Mr. Pres-

ident? Does it happen that the Indians are hostile, and that they will not attack a weak party; that they want the United States to send armies to hurl defiance at them? Sir, their complaint is, whenever aggression has been said to have been committed by them, or whenever they have retaliated, that it has been because the white man first blooded the path, and they wished to walk, too, in a path of blood. Yes, sir, that is the secret of it. When our traders can go from Fort Laramie, or from the frontier of Missouri, Iowa, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, to the Pacific ocean, with perfect impunity, and return laden with stores from the desert or the wilderness, obtained in traffic with the Indians, I say when our troops are injured, there is a fault somewhere, and that fault is in not cultivating kind relations with the Indians, and treating them with justice and humanity. It is the interest of the traders to conciliate them, and we never hear of their being robbed. We are told that the Indians exact black mail from our emigrants to California. Yes, sir, they do; because persons who have preceded them have provoked and irritated the Indians. I grant you that no caravan ought to go without some military protection. The male portion of the party well armed, with a small military force, can always defend themselves against as many Indians as can remain embodied in any country where the buffalo is not abundant. I am for giving ample protection, whatever it may be, to the emigrant trains; but they should go in such detachments or caravans as will render it convenient to afford them subsistence, for I would not that one scalp should be taken.

I can exemplify, to some extent, an impression that I have when I contrast war measures with peace measures. I well recollect in 1835, 1836, 1837 and 1838, in Texas, we had peace. The Camanches would come down to the very sea-board in amity and friendship, would repose confidently in our dwellings, would receive some trifling presents, and would return home exulting, unless they were maltreated, or their chiefs received indignities. If they did receive such, they were sure to revisit that section of the country, as soon as they went home, and fall upon the innocent.

For the years I have mentioned, in Texas, we had perfect peace; and, mark you, it did not cost the Government over \$10,000 a year. We had no standing army. A new Administration came in, and the Legislature immediately appropriated \$1,500,000 for the creation of two regular regiments. Those regiments were raised. What was the consequence? The policy had changed in the inauguration of the President. He announced the extermination of the Indians. He marshaled his forces. He made incursions on a friendly tribe, who lived in sight of our settlements, where the arts of peace were cultivated and pursued by them—by agriculture and other arts, and by the exchange and traffic of such productions of the soil as were convenient. They lived by traffic with Nacogdoches. The declaration was made, and it was announced by the Cabinet that they would kill off "Houston's pet Indians." Well, sir, they killed a very few of them; and my honorable colleague knows very well, if it had not been for the volunteers, they would have licked the regular army—as the Indians said; I was not there.

The Cherokees had ever been friendly; and,

when Texas was in consternation, and the men and women were fugitives from the myrmidons of Santa Anna, who were sweeping over Texas like a simoon, they had aided our people, and given them succor; and this was the recompense. They were driven from their homes, and were left desolate. They were driven up among the Camanches. What was the consequence? Every Indian upon our borders, from the Red river to the Rio Grande, took the alarm. They learned that extermination was the cry; and hence it was that the flood of invasion came upon our frontiers, and drenched them with blood. The policy of extermination was pursued, and a massacre of sixteen chiefs at San Antonio, who came in amity for a treaty, took place. That was in 1840. Before this Army was raised, they had been in the habit of coming down for purposes of peace and commerce. But an army of Indians marched through the settlements to the sea-board, one hundred or one hundred and fifty miles, undetected, I grant you avoiding the dense settlements, went to Linville, upon tide water, rifled the stores, and slaughtered the men, if there were any, the women treated with cruelty, and their childrens' brains were dashed against the walls of their peaceful habitations. The exterminating policy brought it on. The country became involved in millions of debt, and the Indians in Texas were kept in constant irritation.

That was in 1840; and it was not until the year 1843, that intercourse could be had with them through the medium of the pipe of peace, the wampum, and the evidences of friendship. Then, what I related the other day occurred, and kind relations were again brought about, which subsisted until 1849. For the last year there has not been the life of a citizen lost on our borders that may be attributed to the Indians. One old man and three children were found near Medina, and another man was found, not scalped, and we know not by whose hands he came to his death—whether he was killed by Indians or Mexicans. They have detected companies of felons there, whites and Mexicans, stealing horses, and running them through the wilderness to Red river. The forts, they knew, were there, and they could dodge them, and go within one mile, or twenty, or thirty, just as they please. They are perfectly harmless.

The Indians have killed several soldiers—and why? Whenever they get the chance, they treat them like dogs. What did they do? The agent made an agreement with the principal officer, for the Indians, (to enable them to subsist,) that they should have a certain amount of powder and lead; and the sutler should be permitted to sell it. The commanding officer was absent. Perhaps the young lieutenant, or the junior—I hope the Senator will not ask for the name, for, indeed, I have forgotten it—was in command. The Indians came in, and asked the sutler for powder. He said, "No; you cannot get one grain of powder or lead." "Why," say they, "our women and children are crying with hunger, and we want to go out and kill game and feed them; we want the powder." "No, you cannot get powder," says he. They then said, "if you drive us off, we will have to go and join the northern Camanches. We have always been disposed to be friendly, but we cannot stay and starve. We must go and join the stronger party." "Well," says the officer, "you

may go." "But," say they, "if war comes on." The reply is, "War is my trade; bring it on as soon as you please." They separated; and the agent had to send two hundred miles a friendly Delaware Indian, before he could overtake that band, and, with difficulty, he got them back. The agent had to traverse and ride seven hundred miles to effect the restoration of harmony.

That is the way they manage. If these are the gentlemen that are to hold the lives and property, and the security of our citizens in charge, I want them to be men of some discretion, some wisdom, some little experience, not those who have just burst from the shell, or juveniles from the Military Academy, without ever having seen an Indian, and knowing nothing of their disposition. Send men of age and discretion, who have some sympathy for the whites, if they have no respect for the Indians. Then, sir, you may dispense with a great deal of the force which you now have, or ought to have, to make the Army efficient.

Now, you see the consequence of this wiping out of the Indians, and making them respect you. Whenever you attack them, you embody them; for we are told by an agent, Mr. Vaughan, a gentleman of high respectability, as I understand, that the Indians are disposed to live in perfect amity with the United States; and that they do not only say that they are disposed to be at peace, but that they report the hostility of other Indians, and say that they will coöperate with the whites in giving them any information and aid that they possibly can; and will assist them in a conflict with hostile Indians; so that there is no danger to be apprehended. If you conciliate but one part, the others will not attempt to enter into hostilities. It is for the accomplishment of this, that I desire to see the appliances of peace, not of war, used. Here, for instance, Mr. Vaughan says:

"The Brulies from the Platte, the Ouh-Papas, Blackfeet, Sioux, a part of the Yauclonnais, Sans Arc, and Minecogan bands of the Missouri, openly bid defiance to the threats of the Government, and go so far as to say, that they do not fear the result should soldiers come to fight them."

That is all hearsay. It is reported as hearsay, not as being authentic.

"The rest of the tribes in this agency are disposed to do right, and many of them at once will unite in exterminating the above bands. Several of them have come voluntarily to me, and stated that, should a force be sent here to chastise these, they will hold themselves in readiness to give any information relative to their locality and movements in their power, and render any assistance that may be required of them."

Well, now, when you can divide the Indians in this way and have one party, suppose you were to send two hundred men against hostiles, you could acquire an equal Indian force, so as to countervail them, and the whites would determine at once the preponderance in favor of our Government. Mr. President, I assure you I cannot agree to the proposition. Besides, the general objections which I have to the increase of the Army as the policy of the Government, I will say that we have enough in the present force, if properly employed, with the exception of the convoys necessary to the emigrant trains, and it would be very easy to digest a system for that purpose short of the contemplated three thousand troops.

Sir, I discovered furthermore, that in the plan suggested, the section of country from which I come is left entirely free from all the influences of

its provision and all its benefits. My honorable colleague says, that those who are in danger ought to feel for home. I say so too, but I am sure he has not looked into this, and exercised his accustomed sagacity, or he would perceive that Texas has not been mentioned in this provision; but it relates to the emigrant routes of California. Texas is to be put out of the way.

There is nothing central there—no preponderating political influence there. Texas is neglected.

I made a proposition the other day, that, if the troops are to be called out, and one fourth of the money were given to our agent that would be annually expended, I would stake my life upon the event that we should have perfect peace there; and the influence of peace there would radiate to the Pacific. Justice will be done. Their wants will be supplied. We must remember, sir, there is a race of mortals wild, who rove the desert free. They owe no homage to the written rules which men have made; owe no allegiance to the idle forms which art suggests; but, proud of freedom in their native wilds, they need but competency's aid to make them blest. Well, sir, feed them. You have it to do, or you have to kill them. Which is the most expensive, leaving out the humanity of the thing? If you merely regard it as a matter of dollars and cents, you will find that to feed them is cheaper than to kill them, though you should not lose a human life, nor the labor or the exposure of the citizens, and suffer the casualties which would be brought upon them by a war.

I go for conciliation; and I come here, Mr. President, to legislate in part for Indians, but not to legislate for Indians to the exclusion of the whites. But, the honorable Senator from Tennessee, [Mr. Jones,] for whose eloquence and high conceptions I have great respect—though I do not, in everything, coincide with him—differs from me. I must be permitted to make a commentary upon a few sentences which appear in the remarks that he made the day before yesterday. He said:

"I am not here to legislate for Indians. I am here to legislate for white folks and negroes, and not for Indians. I have no Indian constituency; and I confess that I have no great sympathy for them. When I remember their barbarities in my own State, when I see there the graves made by their hands, this heart of mine has no warm, impulsive feeling for them. I would do them no wrong; I would give them all the protection which can be accorded to them; I would protect our own citizens against them. They should perpetrate no outrage upon our citizens if I could avert it."

Mr. President, the Senator says he has no Indian constituency. I have none; and, moreover, Mr. President, I have no Buncombe constituency either. [Laughter.] I have a very proud and exalted constituency. They are pretty much self-existent, and independent. But, Mr. President, I come here to legislate for Indians. I find them embraced within the pale of our Constitution. It points out the course for me to pursue in relation to them in my legislative action. The principles of our Government, independent of the express letter of the Constitution, would suggest to me what course to pursue. They are here recognized by the action of this body in the ratification or rejection of treaties which have been made with them. I grant you it is a farce which has lost now even the solemnity of a farce, if it ever had any; but still I come here to legislate for the Indians. To tell you the truth, sir, it is always with great reluctance that I see the subject of legislation for

negroes introduced into the Senate. I do not think it a proper place for it. I have never recognized the right of the Senate to do it, and I never will; and there I take issue with the honorable Senator in that particular.

But, independent of that, the Indians are a people who are upon our borders. We are brought in contact with them. We have taken their soil, their country. They have yielded to superior intelligence, and to the spirit of domination inherent in our race. They are a feeble race, yielding to the pressure of circumstances, and to the mastery of white men. But, sir, if they are inferior, and have fallen beneath our prowess, and they are prostrate, let us raise them up; let us elevate them; let us bring them to equality with ourselves as to intelligence, for they are not inferior in native capacity, they are not inferior in the employment of mechanical arts. What did the Senator from California [Mr. WELLER] say yesterday? He stated that the wild Indian boys, who were taken in California, and put to agricultural pursuits, learned with the same readiness that the white boys did, to plow, and the arts of agriculture, so far as they had been tried. It was manly testimony, and it commends the gentleman and his experience to consideration. He tells you, too, that a few years ago, there were not less than ten thousand Indians in four counties, who have now dissolved and melted away, until but a fraction over three thousand remain. With the vast number that are still there, perhaps the proportion of diminution will soon be as great. We ought to look with some degree of commiseration upon these people. It is not the duty of every gentleman to feel sympathy for them, but he should feel a manly respect for himself; he should feel for humanity in any shape, for a merciful man will be merciful to his beast. They are degraded and sunk by their contact with the white man. They have, unfortunately, first to learn his vices, and, by degrees, to glean his virtues. But yet we see, under these influences, nations rise, become respectable, intelligent, scientific, and not only scientific, or learned, but we find them with their judicial department, their political department, their administrative department, and their Christian department. You find, in the last twenty years, not less than seventy ministers of the Gospel have grown up among the Creeks, the last to raise a hostile arm against the United States. Why not produce the same result with other tribes? My distinguished friend from Michigan [Mr. CASS] well knows that the Indian is susceptible, not only of improvement, rapid improvement, proportioned to the facilities afforded to him, but that he has as high and generous impulses as ever swayed the human heart; or quickened life's vital current; and who, when their friendship is plighted, would give their life to redeem you from an adversary's blow. Yet these men are not worth legislating for! Were their existence to terminate, and not to go beyond this earthly sphere, were there no eternity to receive the undying spirit of an Indian, humanity would bid us do justice to the red men. But they have an undying spirit, and if you inflict wrongs upon them and they are unredressed, the accountability is beyond human power to tell; but the honor of this nation demands the maintenance of good faith towards them. Have we heard that any efforts

have been made to redress the wrongs recently inflicted on the Delawares? No, sir, we have not heard that the military there have interposed and driven the offenders from their land. It is not neutral territory; it is their property; and the United States is pledged, by treaty, and by honor, to protect them in its possession. They have delegated a trust to the United States to sell this land if they dispose of it for their benefit; but they have not given it to the aggressor. Will the Government permit the wrongs to go unredressed? Where is the military authority there, that they do not expel the aggressors, in obedience to the intercourse law—persons who are there without permission? Sir, the nation's honor grovels in the dust, its ermine is soiled, its glories are clouded.

Mr. President, I am reluctant to detain the Senate; but I must take the liberty of making a suggestion, and it may be regarded, in the character of prophecy or fancy, as may be most convenient and acceptable. Raise the three thousand troops, make a general war with the Indians; and it will take five years to terminate it. It will become a focus of excitement. It will virtually arrest emigration to California and to Oregon. It will cost you fifty millions of dollars, and you then will have to approach these Indians through the medium of pacification. Send your wise men, three commissioners, if you please, and send two or three hundred men, as discreet men might designate, and you will make peace with every man in the course of nine months, and give perfect security to your emigrant trains. You will not hear of bloodshed, unless it results from a spirit of retaliation provoked by the whites. This being done, you would have the blessed reflection that you have saved the effusion of human blood. The women and children of the Indians will be preserved. But if you call the attention of the warriors to war and battle, and to marauding, by way of retaliation, upon your trains, starvation will ensue for want of the means of subsistence. Mark these words; pacific force will give peace and save millions of money, a hostile force will expend millions, waste human life, and dishonor the nation.

After some remarks by Mr. DODGE, of Iowa, and Mr. MALLORY,

Mr. HOUSTON said: Mr. President, I hardly know what to say in reply to the honorable Senator from Iowa, for I hardly know what to think of his speech. [Laughter.] If I were to characterize his remarks in any way, I should say that they were, at least, very remarkable. In the first place, let me say to that honorable Senator, and to the honorable Senator from Florida, that they were talking about things of which I knew very little, for I was not in the United States when the occurrences to which they alluded took place, and I was not, therefore, familiar with the history of those wars. If I am not mistaken, however, it was an outrage of a very delicate character which brought on the Florida war.

Mr. MALLORY. That is a mistake, sir.

Mr. HOUSTON. Well, sir, that was the report which was brought to Texas. Whether it was true or not, I do not know; but that was the information which I received from people from that section of the country. As for the Black Hawk war, I know little or nothing about it; for in Texas, at that time, we had no mail communica-

tions with the United States, and we got but few papers from the States, so that I remained uninformed in relation to those matters; but no doubt they were very exciting. The Senator from Iowa said the Black Hawk war was brought on by a council of the nation; but I have heard that an examination of the circumstances will show that the first outrage was committed by an individual, not by the concurrence of the nation, though they afterwards became involved in the general war. In that statement, I believe, I am sustained by the history of the times. I have already stated that occasions occur where outlaws among the Indians commit acts of aggression on the whites, and the whites immediately retaliate on the Indian nations, and those nations, in self-defense, become involved in war; but I never knew a case where a treaty, which was made and carried out in good faith by the Government, was violated by the Indians. In Florida the Indians complained that they had been deceived in the treaty, and that the boundaries assigned were not as they understood them; and they killed their own chiefs. It was charged that some of the agents were involved in speculations to a great extent, dependent on the treaty. I recollect it was so stated at the time.

I think, sir, the Senator's speech was of a remarkable character in relation to politics and other matters, which I am sorry that he has introduced. He has undertaken to admonish me, and for this admonition I am much obliged to him. His experience, his superior opportunities, may entitle him, in the opinion of others, to the right of admonishing me; and I am perfectly willing, on that point, to yield my own opinion to what may be the general impression of the body. I did not provoke his remarks by any allusion to any one, predicated upon my own disposition to arraign the conduct of others; nor have I asserted anything in regard to the officers of the Army, but what are matters of fact taken from the official documents. When I made suggestions of a speculative character, I gave them as such.

But, Mr. President, the Senator from Iowa has said that he would not have been astonished if the rankest Abolitionist had made such a speech, and had avowed such sentiments as I did. He says that, if a man in western New York had presented such views he would not have been surprised. Now, I wish to know what connection my remarks had with Abolition? What connection had they with any one in western New York? In what respect have I catered to any prejudice or morbid sensibility? I have stood here alone in this body, against a powerful array of talent and influence, contending for what I conceived to be a great principle, and which must obtain or the Indian race be exterminated. In regard to that principle, I have the concurrence of the Senator from Tennessee, [Mr. BELL,] who was once Secretary of War, and as such had control of the Indian department, and who has, since that period, been a prominent member of the Committee on Indian Affairs of the Senate. I believe that my opinions are also concurred in by the Senator from Arkansas, [Mr. SEBASTIAN,] who is the head of the Committee on Indian Affairs. I can inform the Senator from Iowa that I will sustain him to the extent of my humble abilities in any measure he may introduce in favor of the Indians, and for the establishment of a policy which will

ultimately benefit them and reflect credit upon the Government of the United States.

I have not been regardless of what I considered the honor of the United States, and the interest of the Indians. In no instance have I been remiss in these particulars. I could not cater to any passion or prejudice on this subject, because I know of no societies in the North, or in the South, or in any section of this Union, for the advancement of the civilization of the Indians. If such societies exist, I am not in correspondence with them, nor am I aware of the existence of any such associations. Then, for what ulterior purposes could I advocate the rights of the Indians, or invoke the justice of this Government towards them? Could it be any expectation of political benefits? None upon earth. I presume the Abolitionists are perfectly absorbed in the subject of Abolition. For myself, I would rather see them turn their attention to the amelioration of the condition of the Indians on our western wilds, or to the reclamation of those whom they hold in slavery. There are not less than two thousand prisoners in the hands of the Camanches; four hundred in one band, in my own State. The prisoners can be reclaimed from those Indians, who are coming down to settle upon their reservations. They take no prisoners but women and boys. The boys they treat with a degree of barbarity unprecedented; and their cruelties towards the females are nameless and atrocious. Our Government is silent in relation to them. Has humanity no claims upon us in this respect? Has justice no demand unanswered? Sir, we have not seen the facts to which I have just alluded impressed on a page of our official communications from the War Department. The officers stationed near the places where those transactions have taken place have not reported them. No effort has been made to obtain appropriations for the reclamation and redemption of those prisoners. This is a subject which calls aloud for the humane influence of the Senator. There is no "sickly sentimentality" in this, but a manly upheaving of soul, that, in commiseration of suffering humanity, demands that the Government shall rescue them from the most cruel and unrelenting bondage.

I have been accused of catering to a morbid, "sickly sentimentality." Sir, I never yielded anything of my own conscientious convictions to consult the opinions of others. I never stooped to solicit office; but I have received and accepted it to my own disadvantage. I might have hated the Indians, if I had a soul no bigger than a shell bark. [Laughter.]

In my boyish days, before manhood had hardened my thews and muscles, I received balls and arrows in this body, in defense of suffering humanity, particularly women and children, against the Indians; and I aided in reclaiming the brightest spot of the South—Alabama. When I remember that, in those early days, I assisted in rescuing females and children from the relentless tomahawk and scalping knife, it seems to me that the charge that I have stooped to court favor by the expression of my sentiments on this question, is one which falls harmless at my feet.

I hardly know what to think of the gentleman's remarks as to catering for the presidency. I hardly know what to say about the extraneous subjects which he has introduced. I suppose the shortest

way of naming what he intended to allude to, is by the term "Know-Nothing." Now, of the Know-Nothings I know nothing, [laughter,] and of them I care nothing. But if the principles which I see charged to them in many instances are the principles which they seek to carry out, I can say to gentlemen that I concur in many of them. If their object is to resist the encroachments of one religion or sect upon another, I am with them. I say resist all such encroachments, and leave all religion uncontaminated by the perversion of power that might accidentally result in *proscription* and the *inquisition*. "I'll none of it;" I am opposed to and would prevent such a result.

I admit that we are all descended from foreigners, because, originally, there were no natives here who were white men. Many of those foreigners who originally came here were baptized in the blood of the Revolution; but they were not such men as are now coming to our shores, and should not be named in connection with those who are spewed loathingly from the prisons of England, and from the pauper houses of Europe. Such men are not to be compared to our ancestry, or to the immigration which, until recently, has come to our shores from foreign countries. If the object of those to whom the Senator from Iowa has referred, be to prevent men of infamous character and paupers from coming here, I agree with them. I would say, establish a law requiring every person from abroad, before being received here, to bring an indorsement from one of our consuls abroad, and produce evidence of good character from the place whence he emigrates, so that, when he comes here, we may receive him into full communion with all the rights guaranteed to him by the laws which may exist at the time of his immigration. But, sir, to say that a felon, who left his prison the day he sailed for this country, or, perhaps, was brought in chains to the vessel which bore him here, is, in five years, to stand an equal with the proudest man who walks on our soil, the man who has shed his blood to consecrate liberty and his country, is not the kind of arrangement that I go for.

Mr. MALLORY. Will the Senator from Texas allow me to ask him one question?

Mr. HOUSTON. With pleasure.

Mr. MALLORY. As the subject of Know-Nothingism, as it is called, has been brought here—

Mr. HOUSTON. I have not introduced it, and I am not going to comment on it.

Mr. MALLORY. Precisely so; the Senator has not introduced the subject, and perhaps he is not responsible for its introduction; but he is undertaking to say what he himself thinks upon it. Now, as he is speaking on the subject, I should like to understand distinctly whether he approves or does not approve of so much of the creed attributed to the Know-Nothings as would make those who profess the Roman Catholic religion ineligible to office?

Mr. HOUSTON. I would vote for no such law.

Mr. MALLORY. I asked the gentleman whether he approved that or not—not whether he would vote for it.

Mr. HOUSTON. No, sir; I could not approve of such a law. But the proscription which is

charged on those to whom allusion has been made, is no more than formerly existed between Whigs and Democrats. When party discipline was kept up, if a Whig voted for a Democratic candidate he was ruled out of his party and branded as a deserter; and if a Democrat voted for a Whig he was disowned by his party. That species of political proscription will exist everywhere, according to the notions of people. I do not set up my opinion as the doctrine by which others are to be governed. I am governed by my own principles, and my own sentiments, and I have a right to vindicate them, and I am responsible for them to the world. When the Senator from Iowa supposes that I would cater for the presidency of the United States, he does me great injustice. I would not cater for any office beneath Heaven. But, sir, I know one thing: if it were to be forced upon me, I should make a great many changes in some small matters. [Laughter.]

Mr. President, I am very sorry that my young friend from Iowa, for whom I entertain so much respect, should have acted as he has done. He certainly has gone beyond anything that I had imagined. He supposes that my object in addressing the Senate on this Indian subject was to connect it with the Nebraska and Kansas bill. I have not thought of that bill except that I alluded to the manner in which it was passed yesterday evening, when the Senate refused, rather discourteously, as I thought, to adjourn to enable a Senator to speak; but I now take back what I then said, for the Senate did afterwards adjourn. I alluded then to the manner in which the passage of the Nebraska bill was effected, but I have not thought of it in the speeches which I have made upon our Indian relations. I have sought to let it go by and rest in peace. I have not been anxious to renew the controversy in regard to it. If it is for good, I hope good will result from it; if for evil, I hope the least possible evil will be the result. I have nothing to do with this now, and I shall not allude to it further.

The Senator from Iowa says that I have attacked the Indian agents and the officers of the Army. I have not reflected upon a single agent of this Government. If I think honestly that a measure recommended by the Administration is impolitic, unwise, and unproductive of good to the country, I have the undoubted right to oppose it in argument, and to vote against it. That is a privilege which pertains to me as a Senator from one of the States of this Union. I have a right to exercise that privilege. It arrogates nothing to myself, and, therefore, I shall exercise it. It is not, however, to be supposed, because I vote against this measure, that I am opposed to the Administration, or find fault with its every act. If the gentleman had reflected, he would have come to the conclusion that the Administration has done so many good acts that I cannot particularize them; and because I do not concur in this measure, it is not condemnatory of the general course of the Administration. All I have to do, at present, is with this measure.

The Senator from Iowa misapprehended me in another respect; and that was, in supposing that I was opposed to raising even five hundred men. I say, raise that number; raise men enough to go as convoys or guards to the emigrating parties; and, besides that, send out commissioners who are

wise and discreet men—such as were taken to explore the promised land of Canaan in olden times. Let them go and bring reports of the feelings of the Indians, and see whether good fruits will not result. Let them go there, and make treaties with the Indians. Let them take two hundred, or three hundred, or five hundred men with them. If I were going, I should not take more than three hundred. Indeed, I believe one hundred would be sufficient to meet the Camanches. One hundred Americans, with Sharp's rifles, would subdue the whole of them, if they could get the Indians to come to them. There is the difficulty. You know there is an old adage about catching birds. Nurses tell children to put a little salt upon their tails, and you have them. [Laughter.] You cannot catch these fellows in that way. You cannot get near enough to them; and there is the difficulty.

But, sir, in order to sustain what I said in relation to officers of the Army, I wish to read an extract from the last official report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior:

“As heretofore reported to you, an association of persons has undertaken to appropriate to their own use a portion of the land ceded by the Delawares, fronting on the Missouri river, and south of Fort Leavenworth; have laid out a city thereon, and actually had a public sale of the lots of the same on the 9th and 10th of October last. These

unlawful proceedings have not only taken place under the eyes of the military officers stationed at the fort, but two of them are said to be members of the association, and have been active agents in this discreditable business. Encouraged by these proceedings, and prompted by those engaged in them, other persons have gone on other portions of the tract ceded by the Delawares in trust to the United States, and pretend to have made, and are now making, such ‘claims’ as they assert will vest in them the lawful right to enter the land at the minimum price under the preëmption law of July 22, 1854.”

There is the authority from which I drew my conclusions in relation to the conduct of those officers. I have not branded them with any opprobrious terms. If they are innocent, what I said cannot injure them; if they are guilty, there is no condemnation too deep for them.

Mr. DODGE, of Iowa. I hope the Senator from Texas will name the persons who have been guilty of the conduct to which he has alluded.

Mr. HOUSTON. I have given the quotation from the official documents. I will tell the Senator the reasons why I referred to that transaction. In the first place, it was to demonstrate the fact that aggressions are committed upon the Indians; and is not this calculated to dissolve the bands of peace, and bring on war? In the next place, this country is under the control of the military; and why have they not restrained those people from such an outrage?

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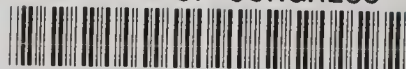
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